

fatherland, nor drive out the invader ; never succeed in ruling even a small city State like Florence. Even Venice appears unfitted for so large a *role*. Florence and other city States, he tells us, have failed because they have tried to govern on wrong principles. More especially have they erred in not admitting subject cities to a share of power. Florence has held Pisa in bondage, and Pisa has never ceased to rebel and jeopardise the State. The lack of the representative principle as regards its subject population is thus, with Machiavelli as with Guicciardini, the cause of the fall of Florence. With both, a monarch is more likely to consider the interests of such populations than a republic, which seeks to maintain its supremacy at the expense of the liberty of its conquered subjects. It is the heaviest servitude to serve a republic like Florence, as Pisa has experienced, and by not conciliating its subject cities it laid itself open to the constant menace of disintegration. All the same, Machiavelli is ready enough to crush liberty, even to the extent of extermination, if it militates against the interests of the State that he would fain found. He might have gone further and pointed out that faction within the city itself rendered permanently effective government impossible, and that in this respect Venice, though an oligarchy, succeeded where Florence failed. Moreover, he has failed, through his lack of truly democratic sympathies, to put his hand on the weakest spot of the Florentine democracy, so-called. With him the republic is only in reality a nominally popular government, the *regime* of a certain section of citizens, as against oligarchy or monarchy. He leaves too much out of account the fact that the refusal to satisfy the aspirations of the mass, as distinct from the class, within the ruling city, was equally suicidal to the stability of the State. This policy gave the mass no stake in the existence of the republic. It left the plebs no alternative but to play the *rdle* of the tool of the political adventurer, the blind instrument of the despot.

Machiavelli has some room for reform in his State, though he dislikes innovation. But he limits it to a return to the past. "Those alterations are salutary which bring States back to their first principles." He is in fact too much tied to the past, and he therefore contributes nothing to the political and social emancipation of the people in the larger - sense.